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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to examine English secondary education and its emergence in modern form in the 18th century. Three hundred thirty-four grammar schools (more than 50% of those in the 18th century) in 15 counties comprised the sample. County records, educational essays, and other sources were consulted for a general survey of, among other things, changes in curriculum and charity provisions. The study concludes with a new perspective on 18th century grammar schools: 1) they frequently engaged in curriculum changes, adding English grammar, math, modern languages, and technical subjects to the Greek and Latin curriculum; 2) grammar school charity resources failed to expand sufficiently in the 18th century; and, 3) the relatively fluid state of the grammar schools was itself changed and hardened, circa 1800. This delayed further reform of the schools for at least a generation and tended to mask the positive efforts of the 18th century. Appended are primary source locations and a selected list of titles of secondary sources; full bibliographic listings are included in the author's 1967 doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, based on this study. (Author/DJB)

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FINAL REPORT

Original Title:

Education and the Social Context: The English Middle Class and the Evolution of Modern Secondary Education in the Era of the Industrial Revolution

Revised Title:

CLASSICS AND CHARITY: THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Richard S. Tompson, Investigator
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BACKGROUND

Between the 17th and 19th centuries important changes took place in the character of English secondary education. This project was conceived as an attempt to explore those changes from a sociological point of view, thus contributing significantly to the understanding of educational history. As will be explained below, the aim was revised in the course of research, so that the present report explains 18th century developments in an institutional framework, namely that of the grammar school.

OBJECTIVES

Original:

(1) The primary objective was to study the emergence of modern secondary education in England in its historical setting.

(2) Conduct an examination of the role and influence of the middle ranks of English society on (1).

(3) Investigate and correlate the selection of schools, curricula, and careers.

Supplementary:

(4) When research failed to provide the necessary evidence for objectives (2) and (3), it was decided to explain the development of modern secondary education through the most well-documented institution of the period—the grammar school.

(5) The curriculum (and its alterations) were studied to see how the grammar school responded to the changing needs of the 18th century.

(6) The charitable function of the schools was studied, to see how it was effected by, or how it had an effect on the alteration of curriculum.

PROCEDURE

A. RESEARCH TRAVEL (beyond that described in the Interim Report, December 1, 1965; destinations are County Record Offices unless otherwise noted):

Ipswich (Nov. 30)
Norwich (Dec. 1)
Bury St. Edmunds (Dec.2)
Gloucester (Dec. 6-7)
Worcester (Dec. 8)
Northallerton (Dec. 13-4)
York (Borthwick Institute) (Dec. 15-17)
Rochester (school)-(Dec. 22)
Warwick (Dec. 29)
Northampton (Dec. 30)
Hereford (Jan. 6)
Newcastle (University) (Jan. 10-14)
Carlisle (Jan. 13)
Durham (Jan. 13)
Lincoln (Jan. 18-19)
Stafford (Feb. 7)

B. CORRESPONDENCE

Record Offices were all contacted by mail, as were several dozen other libraries and organizations. About 150 schools (operating as descendants or successors of 18th century grammar schools) were contacted, but with the generally meager results of this procedure, it was decided in December to discontinue the letters to schools, leaving about 50 not contacted.

C. TOPIC MODIFICATION

There were three modifications between the original proposal and the conclusion of the study. Initially the project was intended to "study the emergence of modern secondary education in England in its historical setting." As a part of this aim, it was supposed to examine "the role and influence of the middle ranks of English society" particularly in "the area where career choices and selections of schools and curriculum were made."

The first revision (already described in the interim report) was a change of the focus from "secondary education" to grammar schools alone. There were two main reasons for this. First, the primary source material related to non-grammar secondary education was found to be very thin and unreliable, whereas there was extensive data on the grammar schools. Second, while there have been some attempts to give accounts of other forms of secondary education (Dissenters' Academies and proprietary academies)[1], there is no general study of 18th century English grammar schools.

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[1]On Dissenting Academies: Herbert McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts (Manchester, 1931) J. W. Ashley Smith, The Birth of Modern Education (London, 1954). There is only one work dealing with education in private academies: Nicholas Hans, New Trends in Eighteenth Century Education (London, 1951).

The second revision became necessary in December. By this time it had become apparent that the original intention to study the middle class was unrealistic because there was insufficient class-oriented evidence. The types of material expected, i.e. schoolmasters' diaries, notebooks, and correspondence relative to education, were extremely rare. This observation is based on the replies to inquiries from County Archivists as well as personal attempts to unearth such material from local records. Further, the extent of grammar school enrollment data was severely limited. With only 50-odd schools having any register of pupils, out of 650-700 schools in all, and most of these being no more than lists of surnames, there was no prospect of extensive social analysis among students. This defect carried over into the investigation of career-selection, where it was even harder to obtain a significant amount of information.

These problems made it necessary to find a substitute for the sociological approach. The new direction chosen was one which emphasized the institutions rather than the individuals involved. The quantity and the content of evidence suggested that the new approach might consider curriculum and the schools' function as charitable institutions. The first effort in this direction was under the title "Classics and Charity: The 18th Century English Grammar School in Law and Practice." The basic idea was to explain the legal establishment of the grammar schools and how they had to struggle with it in trying to operate in the 18th century. This line of argument proved to be unmanageable because legal evidence (in particular the proceedings of the Court of Chancery) is not in a sufficiently organized state to allow systematic study. This approach was discarded in favor of a more general analysis of "Classics and Charity: The English Grammar School in the 18th Century" without special reference to the legal aspect. The evidence seemed to indicate that the 18th century developments could be explained as events largely concerned with the two prime features of the endowed grammar school: their teaching of classics and their offering of free education. As it happened, these two ideals clashed in the 18th century, and that clash produced very serious disturbances in the educational system. Summarized briefly, the loss in popularity of the classics, especially among the middle and lower classes, meant that schools had either to relinquish classics or charity, or reach some accommodation between them. Hence, these events were vital to "the emergence of modern secondary education in England," the main object of the study, because they involved the response of the grammar schools to new developments of the period.

The third and final revision was one of scope. Once the final plan of the topic was made, it was clear that the number of schools was too great to study fully. It was felt that the wiser course was to make a fair and representative selection among all the English grammar schools. This selected group might then be studied more carefully and subjected to more different kinds of analysis. The result would hopefully be greater understanding of the schools and their development.

In making a selection it seemed appropriate and convenient to base the choice on particular county units. Their election depended on three factors.

They were required to have (a) a reasonable quantity of primary material on the grammar schools, particularly in county or other archive centers, (b) a relatively large number of schools in the 18th century[1], (c) and finally a general view to geographic dispersal was maintained. Thus the otherwise "qualified" counties of Cheshire and Westmorland were by-passed in favor of their neighbors Lancashire, Yorkshire (West Riding), Staffordshire, and Cumberland. The only geographical area omitted by this process has been the southwest (Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire).

The counties selected (with the number of 18th century grammar schools) are:

Cumberland	(17)	Kent	(20)	Staffordshire	(21)
Essex	(15)	Lancashire	(55)	Suffolk	(20)
Gloucestershire	(18)	Lincolnshire	(25)	Sussex	(10)
Hampshire	(15)	London[2]	(22)	Warwickshire	(15)
Hertfordshire	(10)	Norfolk	(13)	Yorkshire (W. R.)	(58)

The total number of schools (334) represents better than half of the total number of 18th century grammar schools by the writer's estimate. The selection does have the one inherent bias of using survival of evidence as a criterion. This may have introduced an unreasonably high proportion of active and successful schools; but if the absence of material can be assumed to be the result of accident as much as any other cause, then this bias is correspondingly reduced.

In general, these revisions have altered the angle of approach and limited the scope of the project, but they have not deflected the original aim—to examine English secondary education and its emergence in modern form in the 18th century. By turning to the grammar schools, and to a limited number of them, the revisions have led to a more pointed and manageable examination of a part of the subject of secondary education hitherto untouched (except in individual school histories and a few general surveys of education). This examination provides a view of a vital part of the educational "system" which was undergoing the great strain of a period of transition. The response of the grammar schools to this transition has been previously interpreted as sterile and negative—the evidence collected in this project suggests a more positive reaction by the schools which was thwarted at the turn of the century, causing a delay of at least a generation before effective reform measures were taken in the 19th century.

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[1]The numbers of schools ranged from 2 (Rutland) to 120 (Yorkshire). The mean was 15. Some smaller counties (Herts and Sussex) were included intentionally for a more balanced picture.

[2]This number is based on a metropolitan area with a radius of ten miles from Charing Cross, rather than the boundaries of the 18th century cities of London and Westminster.

D. ANALYSIS

When evidence had been assembled from the record offices and other sources, a general survey and recording of data was undertaken. All the schools were listed and against each school notations were made for the following items:

Date of foundation
Documents on foundation
Later documents on school government
Evidence of pupils attending the universities
Evidence of masters having attended the universities
Basic curriculum (at foundation)
Changes in curriculum
Method of change
Provision for free scholars, plus qualifications for that status
Provision for others
Alteration of charity provisions
Method of alteration

In addition, a number of reference headings were used to record other pertinent sources on each school: Chancery proceedings, Commissions of Charitable Uses, Acts of Parliament, Reports of Parliamentary Commissions, collected accounts of schools, and individual school histories were noted wherever applicable.

After this had been done, a list of 39 classifying categories was drawn up, based on the depth of evidence of different kinds which had been observed, with a view to collating (and quantifying) the data from the various schools.

1. Century of Foundation (16th, 17th, or 18th)
2. Closure during 18th century (temporary or permanent)
3. Sinecure during 18th century (temporary or permanent)
4. Founded to teach Grammar
5. Foundation also provided for English
6. Curriculum unspecified
7. Change in curriculum, made ante 1700
8. Change in curriculum, 1700-1749
9. Change in curriculum, 1750-1799
10. Change in curriculum, 1800-1837
11. No change in curriculum
12. Addition of English ("reading")
13. Addition of writing
14. Addition of writing and arithmetic
15. Addition of reading, writing and arithmetic
16. Addition of other subjects (math, geography, French, etc.)
17. Classics dropped when English, etc. added.
18. English dropped and classics introduced
19. Original charity provisions unknown
20. Original charity provisions unlimited

21. Original charity provisions for local residents only
22. Allowance for non-local residents
23. Boarders not allowed
24. Boarders added
25. All students pay fees
26. Some students recieve free instruction (in part)
27. Some students receive completely free instruction
28. Earliest known fees, ante 1700
29. Earliest known fees, 1700-1749
30. Earliest known fees, 1750-1799
31. Earliest known fees, 1800-1837
32. Earliest known boarders, ante 1700
33. Earliest known boarders, 1700-1749
34. Earliest known boarders, 1750-1799
35. Earliest known boarders, 1800-1837
36. Original endowment provided fixed income
37. Original endowment provided variable income
38. Original provisions unknown
39. Endowments added later

Some of these items involve a considerable degree of complexity, and the assignment of a school to such categories may require oversimplification, estimation of dates, and so forth, due to limited evidence. Except where the category includes a date, the information refers to the 18th century, or to the period up to 1837, which is covered by the reports of the Charity Commission.

The school lists were checked through in conjunction with the classifying categories above. A tally was made of the schools which fell into each category (by county), and each entry in a category was recorded against the school's name for later reference.

During the process of listing the schools and tallying the various categories of information, several sources were co-ordinated with the evidence collected from archives. First, wherever there were school histories available, these were consulted.[1] Second, the Charity Commission Reports gave much helpful information on the 18th century, although their focus is on the first quarter of the 19th century. Several other secondary sources were occasionally called upon, e.g. the "Schools" articles of the Victoria Histories of the Counties of England, and other topographical dictionaries and county histories.[2]

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[1]For a recent (and unique) bibliography of school histories, see P. J. Wallis, "Histories of Old Schools," British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 and 2 (Nov. 1965 and May 1966), pp. 48-89, 224-65.

[2]For valuable references to these and other sources, see W. E. Tate, "Some Sources for the History of English Grammar Schools," British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. I, No. 2 (May 1953), pp. 164-75; Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2 (Nov. 1953 and May 1954), pp. 67-87, 145-65.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section the evidence collected bearing on the final form of the topic is presented. Also, the conclusions arising from that evidence will be given. It seems appropriate to present the evidence under the two main headings of the final title: classics and charity. Citation of primary sources is omitted except where it is necessary to distinguish between original material and later writing. Unless otherwise noted, all numerical evidence pertains to the 15-county sample. Conclusions are summarized at the end of this section.

A. CLASSICS

The English grammar schools' curriculum has been assumed by historians to have been fixed in law and limited to only Latin and Greek until the 19th century. (See S. J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain [5th ed.], pp. 115, 126; H. C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education, pp. 17-20; J. E. G. de Montmorency, Progress of Education in England, pp. 50-51, 56-57.) Its inflexibility, and its resistance to modern subjects, were supposed to lie behind a fall in enrollment and a general disappearance or "decay" of schools in the 18th century. In addition, it has been observed by the same historians that a large number of grammar schools were "degraded" to elementary schools at the same time because of the popular disaffection for the classics.

The implication was that such "degradation" was an illegal attempt to circumvent the rigid curriculum. Actually, the disaffection dates back to the 17th century and it was strong enough to cause fundamental change in both newly-founded schools and in those already in operation. The changes occurred, and did so freely, contrary to the traditional idea, and it is doubtful whether the curriculum alterations made were generally regarded as a degradation. But in the early 19th century there was a reaction to this kind of "laissez-faire". Curiously, both reformers and reactionaries insisted on the same approach: charitable trusts were to be more rigorously executed. The "liberal" idea was one of honest employment of the resources of charity, the conservative idea was to maintain the original form of the charitable institution—here, the grammar school. These views led to very rigid interpretation of school statutes, and hence much of the later notion of inflexibility really originates here.

Evidence on curriculum and changes therein was collected in three categories: 18th century opinion (published) on the subject; the original foundation provisions for curriculum in schools; and later alterations in curriculum. The literary evidence of opinion on curriculum shows a considerable dissatisfaction with the composition and the instruction of the standard grammar school course of study. Complaints varied in kind and severity: from mild dissatisfaction with the technique of teaching classics to strong objections to the

teaching of Latin and Greek at all to certain classes of students.

The common vehicle of this opinion was the "Essay on Education," a very popular form of writing in the 18th century (at least among writers). That the essays were so numerous can be attributed in part to the contemporary concern for education (a major area of "enlightened" discussion and criticism). Whether they all enjoyed sound intellectual motives was doubted by a least one contemporary. Dr. William Barrow, in his own Essay on Education, said these tracts were "now usually considered as an interested recommendation for some particular school." He continued,

> It is not difficult for an adventurer, either by his own pen, or the pen of a hireling or a friend, to detail a specious system of moral and literary instruction, which it is neither intended nor possible to reduce to practice; to censure the errors and misconduct of other schools, and to insinuate the superior management of his own.[1]

Thus some of the contemporary criticism may be allowed to be selfish in origin. Nevertheless this criticism as a body shows a high degree of discontent with the status quo, far outweighing the amount of writing in defense of the existing system. About 120 essays and longer works were consulted which were devoted to the subject of education, and particularly to the area of classical studies or grammar school teaching. The overwhelming majority were critical of the conventional system, and they proposed additions to the curriculum, waiver of classics by some pupils, and/or improvements within classical instruction.

More significant than literary opinion was the fact that curriculum provisions in the foundation of new grammar schools were undergoing very noticeable changes between the 16th century and the 18th century. In the records of these provisions (in wills, deeds, and Royal letters patent) we have a very solid form of evidence of educational opinion—not of educational writers, but of school founders, who may be presumed to be as close as any group to the current educational needs felt by a given community. These founders indicated, with more or less precision, what was expected to be taught in their schools. The following figures distinguish between schools founded solely for the teaching of classics, and those in which other subjects (usually "English" subjects, i.e. reading, writing, and arithemtic) were also specified. The figures indicate two developments: a general shrinkage in the number of foundations and a reversal of the dominant type. The latter alteration saw the "English" type school rise from 6.2% to 80.5% of total new foundations. Conversely, the classical type of foundation was reduced to a mere four new schools in the selected counties from 1700-1799.

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[1]William Barrow, An Essay on Education, 2 Vol. (London, 1802) I, v.

TABLE 1

GRAMMAR SCHOOL CURRICULUM AT FOUNDATION

	16th Century[1]			17th Century			18th Century			Total
	L+G	Eng	Unk	L+G	Eng	Unk	L+G	Eng	Unk	
Cumb	5	1	1	1	-	4	-	4	1	17
Essex	10	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	15
Glos	8	-	1	7	2	-	-	-	-	18
Hants	4	1	-	3	3	1	1	2	-	15
Herts	6	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	10
Kent	10	1	2	2	3	-	-	2	-	20
Lancs	28	1	-	10	3	4	2	7	-	55
Lincs	13	-	-	9	1	-	1	1	-	25
Lon	11	2	-	1	8	-	-	-	-	22
Norf	7	-	-	2	2	1	-	1	-	13
Staff	12	1	2	3	1	-	-	1	1	21
Suff	7	2	-	2	7	-	-	2	-	20
Suss	3	-	1	4	1	-	-	1	-	10
Warw	10	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	15
York (W)	21	1	2	16	8	2	-	7	1	58
Total:	155	12	10	65	42	14	4	29	3	334

Thus foundations were changing at the moment of their origin. But in addition, schools were altering their curriculum (at an accelerating rate) as they operated in the 18th century. These alterations were most often the addition of "English" subjects, and in a few cases "modern" (mathematics, history, geography, French) or "technical" (surveying, navigation, bookkeeping) subjects. There was a growth in the rate of curriculum change in the last half of the 18th century which was continued in the early decades of the 19th century. In the latter period the non-English subjects were more nearly equal in frequency to English subjects, whereas earlier they had been rather infrequent. On the whole, the figures throw considerable doubt on old ideas of unchanging or unchangeable curriculum in the grammar school. (See Table 2.)

That some of this change was illegal there can be no doubt. However, there were several legal means of change, and while each case would have to be studied in detail to determine legality, there is reason to believe that more often than not authority existed to perform the changes cited in Table 2. The agents of change might be the schoolmaster or trustees, or if change was executed above the local level, it could be done by the Visitor (a supervisory official, usually designated by the school's founder), the Court of Chancery, or Parliament. In the majority of cases, change was performed locally, pre-

[1]For convenience, all schools founded prior to 1600 are included under this heading.

TABLE 2

GRAMMAR SCHOOL CURRICULUM CHANGES

	English[1]	Math	French	Geog	Hist	Book'g	Total
ante 1700	11	2	1	-	-	-	14
1700-09	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
1710-19	15	-	-	-	-	-	15
1720-29	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
1730-39	5	-	-	-	-	1	6
1740-49	6	-	1	2	-	-	9
1750-59	14	1	2	-	-	-	17
1760-69	11	-	-	-	-	1	12
1770-79	11	2	3	1	-	-	17
1780-89	17	2	3	1	-	-	23
1790-99	18	3	1	1	1	-	24
1800-37[2]	133	43	7	28	12	7	230
Total	250	53	18	33	13	9	376

sumably in response to the needs of the community served by the school. Sometimes an accompanying feature of these changes was the institution of fees for the new subjects. This aspect will be considered under the section on charity below.

One more aspect of curriculum change must be considered. It was noted above that historians have criticized the "degradation" of the grammar schools into elementary schools. This is pertinent to a study of "modern secondary education" and indeed might lead one to think that the grammar schools were largely outside the "secondary" area. If one notes the total additions of "English" (250) and equates this with such a degradation, then the case may seem very convincing. However, the matter is more complex than this, and its resolution demands that we be very clear as to what was meant by "elementary" and "secondary" in the 18th century context.

The grammar school had traditionally taught boys from the ages of 7 or 9 to 14 and up. The school had been a combined elementary-secondary school, and in the 16th century it had commonly sent boys to the universities at ages

[1]The "English"subjects include reading, writing and arithmetic, which may have been added singly or in any combination.

[2]The figures for 1800-1837 are derived from Charity Commission reports which were made up to the latter date, but which do not give precise dates of changes in most cases. Some portion of the changes in this group, therefore, probably occurred prior to 1800.

of 14 and 15. But by the late 18th century that entrance age had risen to 17 or 18, thus extending the later part of the grammar school's operation. Simultaneously, a large body of "free schools," endowed schools for elementary instruction (as well as the better-known Charity Schools), were established in the 17th and 18th centuries. Consequently, the grammar school was obliged either to elevate its leaving age and become a more truly secondary school, or it would remain a school for younger boys, and perhaps more exclusively for them, as a wider elementary "market" developed. In general terms, the idea of degradation seems unwarranted, as it describes a relative movement which is only apparently downward.

But to take the matter further, it is not at all clear that degradation can be equated with the addition of what we have loosely called "English" subjects. There seem to have been different grades of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, and there is reason to suspect that a grammar school no longer teaching classics could have been "secondary" by the terms of the pupils ages, the level of instruction, the master's qualifications, the type of apprenticeships achieved, or the scale of fees charged. It is likely that many (or most) of the cases of adding "English" meant a generally lower pupil-age, a less demanding curriculum, or a less socially attractive one. At the same time, the new subjects were a more popular course and more useful to the individual and to society. And in some cases the addition of writing and arithmetic to a grammar school curriculum was a real advancement and broadening of the school's function, bringing no decline in the intellectual level of the institution.

The foregoing evidence shows that the grammar schools were definitely not rooted to a pure classical curriculum. They were engaged in widespread change, principally the addition of "English" subjects, in the 18th century. The apparently common tendency to change was due to the loss of satisfaction with classics as a means of useful education by itself. In many schools this was carried so far as to eliminate classics from the curriculum, though not always for the sake of instituting "elementary" instruction.

B. CHARITY

The examination of charity in the grammar schools requires gaining some information about the general state of charitable resources in education and then investigating the employment of these resources in particular schools.

The charitable resources for education can only be very roughly estimated. In conjunction with this estimate, it is possible to describe two major limits on the employment of these resources. There are two sets of figures available on the total amount of educational charity, and these bridge the 18th century, giving some notion of the growth over that period. Professor W. K. Jordan has published a study of English philanthropy from 1480 to 1660.[1] In this he has

[1] Philanthropy in England (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1959).

selected 10 counties which he estimated contained "more than half of the disposable wealth of the entire realm." At one point he gives a figure for the total educational bequests. If this figure is doubled, and if an annual revenue of 5% is assumed, the schools would have been earning about £ 45,000 in 1660, disregarding any increase due to inflation. Actually, the figure was probably nearer twice that amount.

In a "Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to Inquire into the Education of the Poor" there are actual and estimated school revenues as of May 1818 and the year or so thereafter.[1] The total in this case was £ 300,525. Thus there was an increase of 3-1/3 times the higher figure for 1660.

But two limits surely reduced the size of this apparent growth: inflation and educational change. In the first place, though estimates vary, there was probably a 200% inflation between 1660 and 1818. Secondly, these revenues were for education generally, and not for grammar schools. There is evidence that non-grammar endowments were growing very rapidly, perhaps at the expense of grammar schools (note above, p. 9, Table 1, the decline in grammar school foundations in the 18th century). Further, unendowed schools were growing even faster. By 1818 there were 165,433 students reported in 4,167 endowed schools (of which less than 700 were grammar schools). At the same time, there were 478,849 students in 14,282 unendowed schools.[2] It would seem that the factors noted above in relation to changing educational needs had had a great influence in the apportionment of energy and funds to the various parts of the educational system and the displeasure with classics caused a relative decline in grammar school numbers.

Basically, the endowed grammar school was a mixed charity and pay-tuition school. The free education provided by grammar schools was intended primarily to allow instruction (at first in classics, and increasingly in "English" subjects) for those qualified boys whose families could not afford it. But the "poor" scholars were by no means always or primarily of the laboring poor. In fact it is difficult to be very precise about who these scholars were and how great their numbers may have been—and these would seem to be fairly basic measurements of charity performance.

Much has been written by historians, in conjunction with the curricular criticism already noted, on the subject of grammar school "decline and decay" in the 18th century. Essentially this comment is aimed at the evidence of falling enrollment, closing of schools, and cases of sinecures and other corrupt practices. But it seems that any such negative conclusions could not

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[1]Parliamentary Papers, 1819, IX (1)-(3).

[2]Ibid., "A Table Showing the Proportion of Scholars Educated Gratuitously ...etc.," IX (3).

have been based on thorough or extensive study, for in trying to collect evidence on individual school performance, a constant obstacle of incomplete data appears. From the study of the counties selected here two facts emerge: (1) there is not enough enrollment evidence to state what the general enrollment or trends within it were for any period of the 18th century, and (2) there is very little evidence of closings and sinecures, and certainly not enough to sustain the harsh judgments of some historians.

School enrollment is unmeasurable because of the stumbling block mentioned earlier: the short supply of school registers. Externally an attempt could be made to use university matriculations as a reflection of school enrollment, but this would be extremely weak since it is likely that a very small number (less than 1/3) of grammar school students continued their education at the university. Thus these statistics would have no connection with a majority of grammar school students.

Lacking this most decisive type of evidence on charity performance, there are other ways of examining the problem. One is to consider the sort of operating alterations made in the schools' charity structure. Another is to gauge, as well as possible, the degree of school failures.

Alterations in charity provisions have been assumed to be impossible or illegal, just as were the variations in curriculum. Here again, the assumption is unwarranted in most cases. Indeed, some foundation documents gave a power of statutory creation and/or revision to school trustees. While no tabulation was possible here as in the case of curriculum changes, it was found that changes of charity provisions, or changes effecting them were not uncommon. The trustees (or higher authorities) were able to make direct changes through the schools' statutes or endowments. They might also modify the charity indirectly through changes in the composition of students (adding boarders or other paying students), or of studies (adding new subjects for fees).

The addition of fee-paying subjects, a legal way of expanding the traditional curriculum, tended to be economically necessary for the schoolmaster, and discriminatory toward the poorer student. This type of measure often brought the issue of classics vs. charity to a showdown. One of several measures might be taken by the school faced with a demand for the new subjects:

(31) (a) make no change in curriculum or in charity;
(107) (b) add paying non-classical subjects, continue free classics;
(153) (c) add free non-classical subjects, altering original charity;
(43) (d) convert to all paying subjects, discontinuing charity.

The marginal numbers are partly based on estimated courses of action of the schools in the sample counties. They show a generally positive response by the schools—only the 74 schools in (a) and (d) were really negative. Those in (b) were taking the law-abiding course in answering new educational need, while the schools in (c) were more concerned with extending their original

charity into more useful areas, in spite of possible conflict with the school's statutes.

Another approach to charity performance is by way of the schools which failed. The supposedly decadent period of the 18th century is believed to have witnessed widespread failure of schools through closing or becoming sinecures. On examination of the sample counties, the visible extent of these deficiencies is much less than might be expected. First, many closings and sinecures were only temporary, not permanent. Second, the general extent, although we have no yardstick by which to measure it, appears small.

TABLE 3

KNOWN CLOSINGS AND SINECURES, 1700-1800

	Closing		Sinecure		Total
	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	
Cumb	-	-	-	-	0
Essex	-	-	-	2	2
Glos	2	-	2	-	4
Hants	-	1	1	-	2
Herts	1	-	-	-	1
Kent	2	-	-	-	2
Lancs	-	-	-	-	0
Lincs	-	2	2	-	4
Lond	-	1	-	-	1
Norf	1	1	-	-	2
Staff	-	-	-	-	0
Suff	-	1	-	-	1
Suss	-	1	1	1	3
Warw	1	-	1	-	2
York (WR)	-	2	1	1	4
Total	7	9	8	4	28

Even allowing for a considerable degree of error in detecting these unfortunate schools, the figure of 28 (or 8.4 percent of the total) does not seem excessively high, particularly when almost half of that number were only temporarily effected. Thus from available evidence, the schools were apparently continuing to function, though as we have already seen, this is only the beginning of the test of the performance of charity.

That the schools should have had to choose between classics and charity was on the whole unfortunate. There should have been some means of smoothing the transition from the Elizabethan grammar school to the modern secondary

school, thus maintaining a useful source of subsidized education. However, the legal system was unprepared to condone, and even less to conduct a major revision of this kind. And society failed to see and understand its importance. These facts are underlined by a group of events at the end of the century, events which illuminate the depth of the classics-charity dilemma.

The events which compounded the grammar schools' predicament were seemingly unconnected. One was a reform movement designed to rectify the nation's charities, the other was a court decision prohibiting the extension of free instruction in grammar schools to non-classical subjects.

The charities of England came under criticism in the late 18th century as being poorly and sometimes corruptly managed. A campaign was mounted, largely in the interest of the anticipated financial savings by reform, for regulating their operation. There were several laws made in the years 1786-1812 concerning charities. In 1816 steps toward what became the first full national survey of charities were taken. In this period, the political atmosphere became heavily laden with reform ideas on charity, often specifically related to grammar schools. The general impression conveyed was that charities (including schools) were corruptly managed and most of the funds lost. The immediate effect on the schools was greater attention to statutory regulation, possibly some limited removal of corruption, and a general reaction to the free handling of school regulation which had developed in the 18th century. Probably the best that can be said for the reform campaign is that it ultimately led to the Parliamentary inquiries which became the basis of 19th century charity reform legislation.

No such benefits accrued from the other important event for grammar schools at the turn of the century. In a famous case in the Court of Chancery, the Lord Chancellor (Lord Eldon) made a ruling which created a roadblock to the sort of curriculum change which had become common in the 18th century. In the case of Attorney-General vs. Whiteley, involving the governors and the master of Leeds Grammar School, he held that the school was founded "for the teaching grammatically the learned languages." In this he reversed the decision of a Master in Chancery that the school be allowed to add mathematics, French, or German to the free curriculum. The legal issue was involved and by no means clear. The effect of the ruling was to harden resistance to non-classical subjects, and it was at least a generation before such changes were recognized as legal (the Grammar Schools Act, 3 and 4 Victoria, c. 77, 1840).

From these events it should be clear that a new picture of the 18th century grammar school is needed. To be sure, it was an inefficient and sometimes stagnant institution. But in its historical context we can see that it was being developed, experiments were being made, and the managers of schools seemed to be trying to answer immediate educational needs. The events of the century's close were in the short run disruptive and negative. They tended to create or to highlight the picture which later writers have often taken to be the image of the 18th century grammar school, i.e. a corrupt, unchanging, decaying

institution. But that picture should rather be one of an outdated mechanism, being tinkered with to keep it running and serving its community, after that community's needs had grown and changed radically. The changes and adjustments were often enough to keep the schools performing a useful function, but under the pressures of the reformers and the Leeds case, more substantial change became inevitable.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

(1) Grammar schools frequently engaged in curriculum changes in the 18th century; much of this was for introduction of elementary instruction, some of it was costly and discriminatory and some was illegal. But on the whole, curriculum change was a healthy development, answering a widely-felt educational need.

(2) Grammar school charity resources failed to expand sufficiently in the 18th century. Also, existing schools did not always live up to charitable goals. The main measure of charity (via pupil identity) is denied to us, and the evidence of charity alterations and school failures shows a limited amount of mismanagement. But the extent is not readily measurable, and appears to be small.

(3) The relatively fluid state of the grammar schools was itself changed and hardened, <u>circa</u> 1800. This delayed further reform of the schools for at least a generation, and it tended to mask the positive efforts of the 18th century.

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MSS:
County Record Offices (of the 15 selected counties plus several others).
Public Record Office
British Museum
Guldhall Library (London)

Printed:
Commission to Inquire Concerning Charities ("Brougham Commission"), 1818-1837. Reports and summaries are contained in various volumes of Parliamentary papers, 1819-1843.

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